4: Silva--18 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 17 in the original source/

142
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Wanana girls (the younger one has a Taryana mother; the older one, a Kubêwana)

Pirá-tapuya types (from the settlement Patu, Papuri River)

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854

Newborn Pirá-tapuya child (with the prophylactic painting of carajura)

/21 cont./

3. Ethnographic Information from the Eighteenth Century

128 In the three eighteenth-century sources known, and cited by us, we find very little ethnographic information about the tribes of the basin of the Uaupés that we have studied. Without much inconvenience, then, they can be copied, and we do it for the greater convenience of the readers of these studies.

103 a. In the "Roteiro" we read: -- No. 184. "The true name of the Uaupé River is Ucayari, which, in the idiom of the Manáos and Barez Indians, means -- River of white water; but, since the heathen who inhabits the main trunk of the Ucayari is of the Uaupé nation, the other Indians attributed to him the same name, which the Whites translate into Goaupé (it is the same one that Condamine calls Yaquiri (in the Mapa) and Quiquiari (in the Diario)" /the final parenthesis is missing/.

133 /22/ 185. "Five days of travel along the southern bank the Tiquié disembogues. At a distance of three more days of travel it has a great cataract called Ipanoré ... Three more [135] days the mouth of the river Capuri on the southern bank. In the Tiquié River in the year of 1749 were found stones that, after being examined and melted, appeared to be of silver. By this river and by the Capuri one can go to the Apuapari (Apapóris), which empties on the northern bank of the Japurá, as was said: passing from the sources of that one to the Yeyá or Uayá River, which empties into the eastern branch of the Apuapari."

*101 186. "On the river Ucayari and on those that are collateral to it live Indians of the nations Uaupé, Cocuana, Quereruri, Uanana, Cubeuana, Burenarí, Mamangá, Panenuá and others. • 304 171 The heathen of the Uaupé nation has a small orifice between the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ears; and another on the lower lip between the beard and the upper extremity of the same lip. On the chest he wears a solid white stone, well 301 polished, cylindrical in shape and an inch in diameter, fixed [554] at the neck with string and thread introduced through a small

/22 cont./

135 /footnote 3 cont./ Padre Jozé Monteiro, that Certain Stones, extracted or brought from the Tiquié River in the year of 1749, if melted, appear to be of silver, when one is indeed made to believe that they are nothing but those Metallic Stones called Pyrites, of which I have sent Your Excellency some gathered in the Apaporis, and which are also found at the Tiquié River, which appear to be silver to most of the persons of my entourage, who were already carrying them as such."

*101 189. "The Issana is inhabited by Indians of the nations Baniva, Tumayari, Tuniari, Deçana, Puetana, Uerequena 171 and others. Those of the nation commonly called Uerequena, • [304] through corruption of the word /23/ Ariquena, have as a mark of distinction a very large hole between the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ears, in which they put bunches of straw. Among them are found many who, prior [551] to communication and knowledge of Whites, had Hebrew names, some pure and others with slight corruption, such as: Joab, Jacob, Yacobí, Thomé, Thomequí, Davidú, Ivanan and Marianan."

b. Xavier Sampaio, in his "Diario," writes: -- No. 133 380. "Farther down the famous Ucayari, by another name *[101] the Uaupés, derived from the nation called this, who principally inhabit it, creates a bar. It empties with two mouths and a triangular island of 20 leagues around and innumerable rocks and cachoeiras, very dangerous because of the frightening whirlpools they form... Toward the south the Tiquié and Capuri, which are the principal ones. Toward

/23 cont./

133 the north there runs a channel of communication with the river Guabiari, which descends from the environs of Santa
171 Fé de Bogotá. The Daçanas, Tarianas and Uaupés Indians
301 who might communicate with the Indians of the same Guabiari have been seen with earrings of very fine gold, which is supposedly extracted from the mines of New Granada."

*101 381. "The Uaupés is inhabited by many nations, the
301 principal ones of which are Cocuana, Macu, Macucoena,
554 Uananá, Tariana, Deçaca (sic), Urinaná, Timanará, Boanari, Mamengá, Panenuá; the most famous one, however, is the Uaupés because of the difference of various degrees of nobility that they admit among them; what serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it at the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of
[304] the common people much smaller. The Uaupés wear the ears and lips pierced."

127 c. Numerous and interesting pieces of information are found in the nineteenth century, especially in the works of Wallace and Koch Grünberg. We shall cite them whenever an opportunity presents itself to us, as confirmation of what is found at present, or to verify a modification of indigenous customs, or, finally, to rectify those authors' observations that seem incorrect to us.

/43 cont./

*101 A pajé /curer-sorcerer/ of the stream Japú (Japu igarapé, Uaupés River), Henrique by name, when asked by us whether he knew the tribe Gí-tapuya (1955), answered us that they are the "Pirá-tapuya of the tail" (that is, the last subdivision of the Pirá-tapuya), called in Tukano Komé-pá-põrá, formerly living above the stream Japú, and who today live in S. Francisco (river Uaupés). This location coincides with the one that can be seen on the map drawn up by Hamilton Rice (cf. Mapas do Rio Uaupés N. A. 19 e Rio Putamayo S. A. 19 -- Provisional Edition Published under the Patronage of Hamilton Rice -- Geographical Society of New York).

(5) -- IPECA -- They are the Kumãdene, one group of which resides today in Urubucuara, as we shall see later (cf. IV -- 2, x /p. 171/).

(6) -- JACAMIM -- Passed over in silence on the other lists. We read in Pelo Rio Mar: "Jacami-tapuia, trombeteiros /trumpeter/ Indians. Indicated on the river Uaupés. Perhaps the same Buchpu-machsa."

From the natives of Pari-cachoeira Koch Grünberg obtained information about the Buchpu-machsa (which means "People of the sarabatana /blowgun/," because they are specialists in the making of this weapon), or Buhágana, /44/ as they call themselves, inhabitants of the Dyi-Igarapé, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, which, in turn, empties into the Japurá. He found out that they lived in round huts, pierced the ear lobes and wore an apron of bark around the thighs, and had never seen a civilized person. Their language, of which Koch could later gather a vocabulary of 60 words, is almost identical to that of the Õmõá, and both, in some words, deviate from the Tukano (Z.I. 180). They made large (3.5 meters) and heavy sarabatanas, because they used them as supports /Port. apoiadas/ (Z.I. 207). It must be pointed out, however, that the Buhágana about whom Koch informs us are not located on the Uaupés. For this reason we think that they cannot be identified with the Jacamim. A comparison of the vocabularies that we collected from the Ide and from the Emõá and that of the Buhágana of

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[287]

304 /72 cont./

[142] [144] Generally long ears, pyriform, protruding, and with the lobes almost always held tightly. In all the cases that we could verify (more than two hundred individuals of both sexes and from various tribes, whose anthropometric measurements we took), we could observe on the dorsal part of the auricular pavilion (on both pavilions or only one, and generally in the lower part) a scar of varying shape and size. In many cases it looked like teeth marks, with the mark of two or three teeth. No one knew or they all refused to give any explanation for this scar, answering, as they frequently do, "I do not know," or "that is the way it is," or again "it is from birth." A young woman affirmed that it was her uncle who executed it, and she did not want to say anything else. A youth gave the information that it had been done by his mother when he was still small, for the purpose of his later being able to attach the feather for the dances there. An explanation that obviously was not satisfactory, because he did not have pierced ears.

[115] [192] Dorotéia Brito, much later, told that such a scar is called Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro (orifice of Wãx-tĩ), but did not say anything about the origin, affirming that it was from birth. It seemed to us that we could establish, as in fact we did: 1st, that it is artificial, from the appearance; 2nd, it is done before the puberty rites, because we found it on prepubescent children; 3rd, the name of Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro is an indication that they judge it to be of magic or transcendental value. Maybe even a rite of symbolic value, like the circumcision of the Jews. These provisional conclusions were confirmed in September of 1956, when the Tukano Antônio Barreto, who exhibited these scars on both ears, not only confirmed the term Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro, but added that it is done by the father, by the mother, or any other person, after the child has received a name (cf. Rite of the imposition of the name, VIII-1, b (4)), that is, from 3 to 5 years of age. He maintained, however, that he did not know its significance.

[115] [553]

/75 cont./

• 304 They do not practice any deformation of the body (11),

11. Nevertheless the Ouvidor /Auditor/ Francisco Xavier R. de Sampaio, in his "Diário" of the year 1774-5, notices, in No. 318, concerning the river Anauene, tributary of the Rio Negro: "This river is inhabited by the Aruaquí nation, very warlike and anthropophagous, but without any artificial deformity such as those customarily practiced by the nations of the Amazon." And about the Uaupés (No. 381) he says that they pierced the ears and the lower lip. This is confirmed at the end of the eighteenth century by Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, "Noticias Geographicas da Capitania do Rio Negro no grande Rio Amazonas /Geographical Notes on the Capitania of Rio Negro on the great Amazon River/," No. 208), and 50 years later Wallace (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, pp. 245 and 634) adds that the Kubeo /Cubeo/ enlarge it more, in such a way that a bottle cork could pass through the orifice of the ear. Perhaps this custom is already being lost. We did not find even one individual with such a large orifice in the ears, and we were able to observe several hundreds of Kubêwãna on the upper Uaupés and on the Querarí. The largest orifice we could observe would measure one centimeter in diameter, and we saw it on a man of the Roéra-[illegible] tribe, residing on the Igarapé Comé-ia, tributary of the river Pirá-paraná.

except for the piercing of the ear lobes, from where they hang the earrings at the dances. Outside of this occasion, in order to keep the orifice open, they introduce a small stick from the ribs of palm trees. Among the men of the new generation, in the povoados assisted by the Salesian Missions, many no longer pierce the lobes.

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c) BÁ:RE-MASÃ OR TẼMYÚ-TAPUYA

*101 1) People-Name-Language -- The idiom of the Bá:re-masã, or "food people," likewise belongs to the family of Tukano languages. As can be verified by the Vocabulary that we collected (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/"), it is quite close to the language of the Roéra. We met a representative of the Bá:re-masã Tribe living among the Íde-masã of the Comé--ía (maloca Bõhõ-rya-hidó, mouth of the stream of the spider). He was (in August of 1956) a type of about 38 to 40 years old, short in stature, fat, skin of a light bronze, nose small and high at the point, rounded face, not very prominent zygoma, and almost cymotrichous black hair. He had pierced ears, with a plug approximately one centimeter in diameter stuck through them, the largest orifice in the lobes that we have found among the various tribes of the Uaupés.

[144] [301] [304] [171] [582]

The law of the exogamy is also in force within the tribe, and marriages seem to be concluded with the Hanẽra, Bará, and Íde-masã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- The tribe of the Bá:re-masã is very reduced in members. We know of the existence of a maloca on the stream Umũ-ía (stream of the japú /bird/), tributary of the left bank of the stream Timí-ia (stream of the otter), which, in turn, flows in on the left bank of the Pirá-paraná, a little above the mouth of the Comé-ia.

[115] 3) Divisions -- The above informant, called Titõyã (also known by the name of Domingos), indicated to us as being divisions of his tribe: 1st. -- Íde-masã, 2nd. -- Ogóro-sõroa. It is probable that the first subdivision, Íde-masã, is the principal tribe of the Comé-ia (cf. IV -- 2, h) considered related to the Bá:re-masã, and not a simple division of the latter. The Ogóro-sõroa are the Hógolo-tsõloa or Tsõroa mentioned by Koch-Grünberg (Z. I, 370) on the Yauacacá-Igarapé, almost identical to the Edúrya in idiom.

/94 cont./

101 The Ide-masã are in general less corpulent than the Tukano. Although of lighter complexion, somewhat pale, elongated face, high, slightly aquiline nose, not very prominent zygoma, almond-shaped eyes almost always light brown. The hair in general is dark or even black, fine, not lissotrichous; instead, many times even wavy.

[582] Tribal exogamy is in force among them. And we know that they are connected by marriage with the Tuyuka, Bará, Emõa, Yebá, Bá:re, Roéra. Not only the women, but also the [301] men wear pierced ears with a small plug two to three millimeters [304] in diameter, which keeps the orifice open.

A peculiarity of this tribe is the dances with masks. We had the opportunity to see the masks representing Waxtĩ and the [532] monkey. The one of Waxtĩ was a true white mask, made of bark, like a round face, with a long slit representing the mouth, a long and pointed nose, and, on the sides of the base of the nose, two slits, somewhat slanted, by way of eyes. The one that represented the monkey was a plain shirt of tururi, with a pointed part, like a hood, covering the head. In this hood there were two holes corresponding to the eyes and two points upwards representing ears.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. They are found scattered over a very wide area: all the stream Comé-ia (stream of the iron or of the ax, in the Ide idiom Koméryaka, tributary of the left bank of the Pirá-paraná), the Miritĩ-paraná, Apapóris, and the Kamorĩ (which, according to indications by the same tuxáua, [161] must be a tributary of the river Solimões). They seem to be quite numerous, that is, several hundreds. The number of divisions that the tribe presents seems to confirm this information.

[115] c) /sic/ Divisions. -- Furnished by the Indian Hinõ (that is, snake), also known as Fernando, about 50 years old (in August of 1956), tuxáua of the maloca Bũhõ-rya-hido (mouth of the igarapé of the spider), on the left bank of the Komé-ya, about 10 hours by canoe from the mouth.

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*101 b) The agreement with the previous lists is not great (only in half a dozen names). Having in mind that the ending kõ indicates the masculine singular, and wa, the ending for the plural, we have discovered a larger number of agreements. For example:

The 5th subdivision of this list, Bahúkõwa, with Bahúkekõ mentioned by Heloísa;

The 6th division, Wararíwa, with the 3rd one of Heloísa, Wáraríkõ (pepper);

The 9th, Horóbora, clay, with the 8th, Húrukõ (?);

The 16th, Órobawa, with the 1st, Órobakõ (sororoca)

q) ROÉRA-MASÃ OR TARAYRA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- Roéra-masã, as they say in their own idiom, corresponds to the Tukano word Doeá-maxsã or Taraíra-tapuya of the Nheengatú, since roé (in Tukano doé) is the name of the taraíra fish (Erithrynus Taraira, Lin.).

[115] Their idiom also belongs to the Tukano linguistic group, as is seen in the Vocabulary (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia") that was given to us in August of 1956 by a young man named Yamí, also known under the name of Pedro, about 22 years old

[142] and residing in the Ídemasã maloca of the Komé-ya. They are in general of medium stature, plump of figure, roundish face, light bronze complexion, light eyes inclined toward blue, mustache hairs, nose high and a little aquiline, and lissotrichous

[301] hair. All of them, men and women, wear the ears pierced

• [304] and a small plug of about two millimeters in diameter stuck through them.

[582] Tribal exogamy is also in force among the Roéra, and we know of marriages with the Íde-masã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They have a maloca near the mouth of the stream Gõ-ya, right tributary of the Komé-ya. It seems that they are not very numerous, except if we consider them in conjunction with the Emõã and Yebá, which were designated to us as one and the same tribe (cf. IV -- 2, t). It is to be noted that it is not rare that those of one tribe are presented

/160 cont./

142 All of them have a full figure, up to about 30 years of age. After that age, corpulence becomes exaggerated in some men, and the women on the whole lose weight, growing old prematurely. They do not promote any deformation for aesthetic or warlike effect (34).

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34. The deformation of the skull is characteristic of the Caraíbas /Carib/, applying tight splints to the children's heads. Among the Amazon tribes the first explorers found this custom among the Cambeba ("Roteiro" /Logbook/ of Pe. Noronha, 145). In some tribes, for example, the Pinao of Colombia, this was done in order to have a fierce appearance.

826 The maidens exhibit round, well-developed breasts. They identify beauty with corpulence. When someone changes climate in order /two pages of illustrations appear here/ /161/ to gather strength, they say that "he went in search of meat." No preoccupation with the waistline; they do not use a girdle.

302 The hair in particular is an object of vanity. They arrange it, comb it often, the women and the new generation of men. The young men, during trips, gather flowers from the bank of the river and string them through their hair, over the ear. They apply lotions, which they prepare with genipap and other plants, in order to keep it black. This is the secret in why they never become gray... They love beads, soaps, perfumes. A maiden sold herself for half a jar of pomade.

They like the mirror very much and stare at it frequently; formerly they gave an oar in exchange for a small mirror.

The young women are sad about being dark, and in order to lighten the skin they rub it vigorously with soap and even with sand, looking at themselves again each time, in order to see whether they are becoming fairer.

/295 cont./

302 386 *[192] All these colors are quite resistant, since they last many days, in spite of their frequent baths.

Very frequently one finds women with the face more or less powdered with red: it is the painting called Tu-dyó-kūsé. They explained that it is only in order not to feel the heat of the sun so much during the work in the clearing. These powders are prepared with the urucú and carajurú.

• 304 They do not use true tattooing, and the natives of the present generation do not even seem to know about it (53).

53. Wallace, however, stated a century ago (o. c.): -- "These Indians (of the Uaupés) make tattoos, but on a small scale: for this they practice along the arms a row of pricks of circular shape. The Tucanos are distinguished from the other tribes by three vertical blue lines that they draw on the upper lip in place of mustaches." Through the ancient explorers we know of the tattoos of other tribes of the Amazon, for example, the Yavarí, Urupá, Suarirana, Periquita, all located on the river Tapajoz (cf. "Roteiro" /Logbook/ of 1759, n. 54). As for the tribes of the Rio Negro (without specifying whether the natives of the Uaupés are included), Cônego /Canon/ Andre Fernandes de Souza writes (o. c. 455): "Some pierce the ears, lips, and nose, into which they introduce feathers and sticks, these operations costing them unbearable pain; others draw on the skin many permanent black lines, using these industrious deformities, not so much for distinction of their tribe, as in order to cause an imposturous terror in their enemies." Concerning the Desana, 50 years ago Koch G. (Z. I. 264) stated that they are the only ones of the Caiarí who use tattooing executed with the palm thorn. This is two parallel blue lines, from the lower lip to the chin.

/314 cont./

*192 301 j) Earrings. The men also wear in the ears long earrings, possibly of gilded metal, axpõá-phĩ (65).

[171] 65. The Makú tuxáua of Iauareté had as earrings a gun cartridge burnished and sawed lengthwise into two halves, one in each ear.

[237] When they do not /315/ have them, they put on by way of earrings a bunch of colorful feathers. We have already observed that [177] the young generation, in contact with the civilized, no longer [304] pierces the lobes of the ears and for this reason no longer will wear earrings in the dances.

[237] k) Bracer. The bracer, baxsá karõ-ga, is a large ring of monkey fur, from which hang as little flocks cords of the same fur, with beautiful arara feathers. It is fitted to the left arm, at the height of the elbow.

*192 554 l) Adze. It is the primitive adze, syó-a yaxpú, for work in wood (see VI - 2, b) and today used only as a dance ornament. It consists of a branch curved like a hook, yaxpú, about 30 centimeters in height, quite smooth, and with plumes attached by means of sorva milk. At one of the ends it bears, fastened in, a solid stone (which today is mere decoration, also a piece of very hard wood) in the shape of an ax, but narrower. This instrument is used by the most important individuals (tuxaua, komũ, bayá) and goes on the left shoulder.

*192 534 535 237 m) Decorations of the flutes. In certain dance numbers they carry in the right hand a bone flute, membĩ (see above, Musical Instruments), or even a small bone from the onça /jaguar/ or another animal, variously decorated with one of the following ornaments:

1st. -- Mahã-iti. It consists of 8 or 10 red tail feathers from the arara, tied to a twist. This twist is wrapped around one end of the flute or bone, like a crest or fan.

/365 cont./

825 When the women see a blind snake or a headless snake, ðxsó, they turn their faces to the side, so that it will not come at night to fecundate them.

[752] [784] When someone is bitten by a snake, his relatives must abstain from salt, pepper, and fish.

[192] [856] When a child is slow in learning to talk, they give the smoked meat of the toad nãxterõ to it to eat, affirming that thus he will soon begin to talk (76).

76. Patrícia Vasconcelos, Tukano from S. Luzia, river Papurí, states that this happened with her. And soon after having eaten the meat of such a toad, she started to talk.

[192] [304] [224] [226] They make some cuts on the children's bodies, when they are still young, with fish teeth, especially from the piraíba, so that they will become mõ'sĩgõ̃ (in Nheengatú marupiára), that is, lucky in fishing and hunting.

Uruká-tutu is the onomatopoeic name, in the Língua Geral and in Tukano, of a nocturnal bird, whose chirping must not be imitated, because it will come to avenge itself against the one [192] who did this, throwing stones at him. They affirm that this bird is the disembodied spirit of some white or civilized, pexká-sã wẽ'rĩ wãx-tĩ.

[752] /366/ They burn the house of the termite and put the ashes on wounds, so that they will not leave a scar. They explain that just as the termites repair their nest perfectly when it is broken open, the ashes of their nest will produce the same result in the human wounds.

If a dog goes in the water in which timbo has been spread for fishing, the poison will no longer have any strength.

[843] The ladies in a state of pregnancy must not eat the pirarucú and pirandira fish, or the pirara; because "this eats dead people" is the explanation that they provided.

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/footnote 108 cont./ in his "Diario" /Diary/ of 1774 (n. 381) says: "The most famous one (of the nations of the Uaupés River) is the Uaupés because of the difference of various degrees of nobility that they admit among them; what serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it hanging at the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of the common people much smaller. The Uaupés also wear the ears and lower lips pierced."

• [304]

the principal consequence of which at present seems to be precedence, whether in the dances, whether in the preference for the tuxauaship, in the case of the coexistence of various subdivisions in the same maloca or povoado. On the basis of such a custom, one can arrange a classificatory chart, which, for the Tukano tribe, for example, would be made up as was seen in IV - 2-a(2), according to the enumeration given in December of 1953 by the octogenarian Tukano of Parí-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa (belonging to the eleventh division of the Ba'ti-tõrõ), an order which, besides, corresponds to information that we obtained from other sources and in different places (109).

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109. When one talks about the last subdivisions with individuals from the first ones, one frequently hears this expression: "They are our slaves." Would they perhaps be groups of different origin which were dominated and absorbed? In some cases this seems to us admissible. For example, the Juruá display quite noticeable somatic differences from the other Tukano. According to the legends they would not have come out of Tõmpa-duri, but